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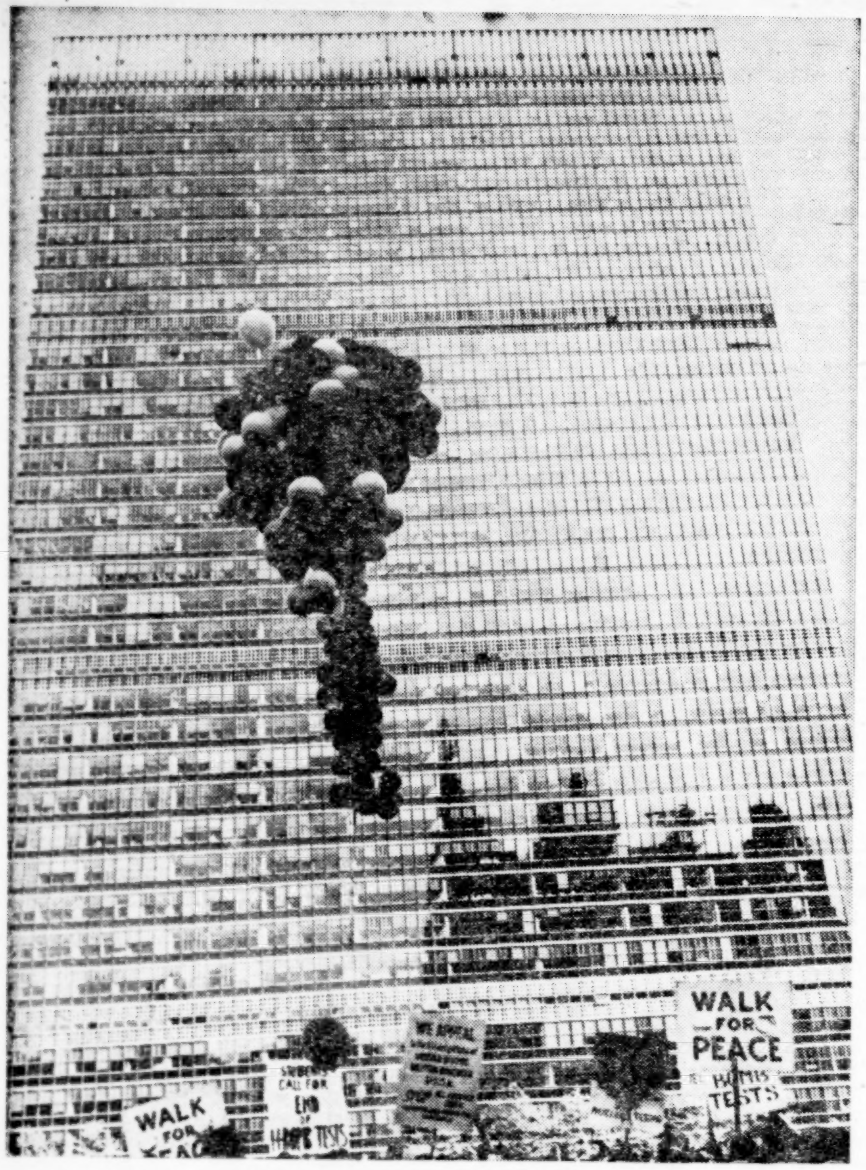

THIS MUSHROOM ISN'T POISONOUS

Last month the N.Y. Students for A Sane Nuclear Policy launched a cluster of balloons in the shape of the nuclear bomb's ominous mushroom c l o u d in front of the UN headquarters building. It was meant to remind the diplomats given to windy debate, that real mushroom clouds, like the balloons, are maintained by hot air.

END OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

French are silent or hostile as de Gaulle takes over as 'savior'

By Kumar Goshal

THUNDER CRASHED appropriately as the French National Assembly on June 1 signed its own death warrant and in effect handed over power to the most reactionary civil and military elements behind the tall figure of Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

A thunderstorm raged and a bolt of lightning struck the flagpole of President Rene Coty's Elysee Palace as Premier de Gaulle and his 15-member Cabinet met immediately after the Assembly approved them by a vote of 329 to 224. Of the 596 Assembly members, 41 did not vote and two seats were vacant.

The general did not return to power the way he visualized it: on the crest of a wave of popular demand for the "savior of France" to restore the nation's "grandeur." Public reaction to his bid for power was generally apathetic, on one occasion distinctly hostile.

THE LEFT PARADES: About that occasion, GUARDIAN Paris correspondent Anne Bauer wrote:

"The great anti-fascist parade of May 28 is worth looking at, for it may have been the last time the united Left could turn out in the street for some time to come. At noon that day, there was no indication that Paris would experience one of its great days. But by 4:30 Faubourg St. Antoine, starting point of all Paris revolutions, began to swarm with people from factories and offices assembling for the parade. In half an hour, between Place de la Nation and Place de la Republique, the streets were an ocean of men and women, with enough warmth

(Continued on Page 9)

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

"—With my hand on my heart."

700 PEACE WALKERS IN WASHINGTON

Golden Rule tries again to sail to Eniwetok

DURING THE MEMORIAL DAY weekend Capt. Albert S. Bigelow, skipper of the Golden Rule, telegraphed President Eisenhower that his ship would again attempt to sail from Hawaii on Wednesday, June 4. The 40-foot ketch has been bottled up in a Honolulu yacht basin by a Coast Guard cutter.

The four crew members are on probation after receiving a 60-day suspended jail sentence for trying to defy a Federal injunction against sailing into the area of the U.S. bomb tests now under way. The injunction was issued after the AEC had barred all unauthorized Americans from the 390,000 square miles of Pacific Ocean staked out for the explosions.

On June 4 William Huntington will yield his place on the crew to another pacifist, free-lance writer James Peck. It was expected that all those attempting to sail would be arrested again and probably jailed. In that case Huntington would be available to organize and captain another crew for still other attempts. The Golden Rule, itself, has not been impounded. The tactic of the pacifists, seems to anticipate repeated sailings and jailings until the century-old Honolulu city jail is filled with passive resisters to the Bomb.

SEEK OTHER VOLUNTEERS: Meanwhile three other pacifists, Clarence Picket, secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker,** and A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, called for an international expedition into the test waters. AEC regulations have no effect on foreign nationals.

Cables proposing such a voyage have gone to Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell, Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan, C. Rajagopalachari of India, Pastor Martin Niemoller of Germany, and Canon L. John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

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WITCH-HUNTERS HAVE TIGER BY THE TAIL

Un-Ams take on Cyrus Eaton—and vice versa

By Elmer Bendiner

WHEN CYRUS EATON, multimillionaire utilities and railroad magnate, charged in a TV interview that the U.S. was becoming a police state and compared Washington's apparatus for snooping on the citizenry with the Nazi Gestapo, there was a feeling, even in liberal circles, that he had overstated the case. But the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities has since acted as if to bear out Eaton's contentions.

Eaton told interviewer Mike Wallace last month that Hitler "in his prime, through the Gestapo, never had such a spy organization as we have," and that the FBI was making "no contribution to the upbuilding of this country and its respect abroad." He said that U.S. scientists were hampered and hushed by fear of the FBI.

EATON WAS RIGHT: The Fund for the Republic, sponsors of Mike Wallace's series, and the American Broadcasting Co. network, which carried Eaton's interview, offered FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover equal time for a rebuttal. Hoover turned that down but instead granted a filmed interview to his friend Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) in which, without cross-examination, he denounced "the carpings of the professional do-gooders, the pseudo-liberals and the out-and-out communists."

Richard Arens, staff director of the Un-American Activities Committee, took up ABC's offered time to announce that Eaton would shortly be summoned before the Committee to account for his statements—exactly as Eaton had described the current treatment of dissenters. No date was set for Eaton's appearance.

Arens said that Eaton's comments were "typical of a campaign of vilification which the communist conspiracy is promoting in the United States against our security agencies and will accelerate in the future by all its devious devices to

(Continued on Page 5)

THE MAIL BAG

Nixon and Sobell

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To the timely and well-documented article by Elmer Bendiner in the GUARDIAN May 26, "Behind the Nixon Fiasco," should be added an important point made by Sen. Fulbright, the lack of "tact and regard for the dignity and sovereignty of our neighbors."

Infringement of sovereignty of Latin American republics by the U. S. was referred to by Señor Lopez Mateos, the Mexican presidential candidate, in one of his campaign speeches, recently. Before telling us what to do, he said, "the U.S. should clean its own house." Likewise Señor Sanchez Ponton, former Minister of Education in Mexico, in a careful analysis of Mexican-U. S. relations (published in **Excelsior**) demonstrated that violation of Mexican sovereignty by the U. S. occurred in the Sobell case in 1950.

At that time Sobell was kidnaped in Mexico City in the dark of night at the instigation of American agents, forcibly taken to the Mexican border and delivered to U. S. officials in Laredo. Whereupon the immigration officer for the U. S., J. S. Huggins, wrote on Sobell's card: "Deported from Mexico," a gross falsehood and a deliberate affront to the Mexican government.

More recently a similar act of violation of sovereignty by the U. S. took place in Mexico. In this instance two American citizens, resident in Mexico for several years, were forcibly taken from their homes and driven under guard to the border. Fortunately for these men, who were subjected to a completely unwarranted disturbance of their lives, an appeal was lodged with a Mexican judge in Nuevo Laredo who promptly issued an injunction against this abduction. It developed this action was carried out by an officer of the Mexican Dept. of Interior at the behest of American authorities. (The Mexican officer was dismissed from the government.)

I happen to be familiar with these two instances of the violation of Latin American sovereignty, but others of as grave a nature come readily to mind. The Senate Subcommittee presided over by Sen. Wayne Morse which has undertaken to investigate the reasons behind the Nixon Fiasco could do no better than start their proceeding by a thorough investigation of the illegal kidnaping of Morton Sobell.

Our own acknowledgement of a mistake would surely help to improve U. S.-Latin American relations, and would surely add to our prestige in the eyes of the world.

A. A. Heller.

Non-violent coercion

CHESTER, PA.

The recent meeting of the "Summit Conference" of Negro leaders showed clearly the tragedy of Negro leadership. This tragedy reveals itself in the fact that there was not one single idea in the field of strategy that could cope with modern conditions. There was not one single thing said that has not been said in the last 50 years. The leaders seemed to be absolutely without information about history, strategy, and tactics.

Current conditions show that non-violence and the legal approach of the NAACP are outmoded methods. Unless the American Negro can find a policy with an element of coercion in it, he is sunk. There are no cases in history where an exploiter has been made to stop his exploitation by law or by an appeal to his sense of justice.

The solution of our problem lies imbedded in the Little Rock case. The segregationists had the **State Police** power on their side. We have the **Federal Police** power on our side. This is coercion, and we should proceed to formulate a policy by which we could use the Federal police power and coerce the reactionaries.

I propose that we formulate a policy and call it Coercion Without Violence. Violence is the historic method of social change. It is being used everywhere today, all over the world. But history shows the introduction of novelty. Perhaps we can introduce a new method of historic change called "coercion without violence." The Summit leaders at Washington were mentally tired, and new voices should be heard. The gathering was just another "resolution" meeting, and its chief result was a feeling of futility and frustration.

Rev. J. Pius Barbour

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A guest preacher (Rev. Dr. William R. Barnhart) at the Bethesda First Baptist Church yesterday compared the Russians with the ancient Spartans and said they too are "subhumanly unfit to rule mankind."

"I didn't see a lawnmower in Russia," he said, "and there are very few automobiles." He visited Russia two years ago.

The Russians have developed sputniks and guided missiles "at the expense of human values," he declared.

He said Americans should broadcast to the world the fact "that we have not had a crash program in producing guided missiles for war because we have been producing guided missiles to use on our highways and have greatly improved the standard of living for our people."

Washington **Post, May 26**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. I. G., Washington, D. C.

Peace walkers

SEATTLE, WASH.

Armed Forces Day was observed here with a Peace Walk through the heart of Seattle by 130-odd cheerful men, women and children bearing such placards as "Are H-bombs human answers to human problems?"

Nothing like it has been seen in Seattle since the demise of the Progressive Party. Peace walkers—University of Washington teachers, students, a few trade unionists, housewives, doctors, attorneys and mothers—wore blue satin armbands with the emblem of the sponsoring American Friends Service Committee.

Cedrid Belfrage would be glad to know that a goodly number of GUARDIAN readers—heartened by his fine report on the march to Aldermaston—were making their witness with the Friends.

Lyle Mercer.

Another who knows

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

In answer to "one who knows" (Mailbag, May 12) concerning the treatment of juvenile delinquents, may I speak also as "one who knows"?

I, too, was a juvenile delinquent (female) though some time ago. In my association with my own teen-agers and friends, and in study, I find no evidence that youth has changed in basic emotional capacities.

From my association with the criminal element I remember always one paradox, which seems to me significant. I saw among those rebels both tenderness and brutality, but never callousness—which is quite another thing. Callousness belongs to the smug self-righteous.

Those who resent a sympathetic study of the vicious actions of teen-agers are the same ones who have allowed—or now accept—the rotten society which produces them. Obviously, wholly to condemn the criminals is to exonerate the society. Only those without feeling will imagine these youngsters to be without feeling—regardless of their pitiful bravado.

Name withheld.

Even-handed justice?

CHICAGO, ILL.

The press reports a shocking and ironic piece of news:

The last four Nazi war criminals held by the U. S. have been paroled. These four had been given death sentences after being found guilty of unspeakable crimes that resulted in the torture and murder of hundreds of Nazi persecution victims.

Their death sentences were commuted in 1951 and now they have been freed.

But this very day two Americans are confined in our federal prisons—not for murder, not for acts of violence, but for their ideas: Gil Green and Henry Winston.

Winston fought Hitler's legions as a soldier in the U. S. army. Gil Green was already fighting Hitlerism when he visited Republican Spain in 1938.

How can we find it in our hearts to free Nazi commanders of extermination squads and keep in prison Smith Act victims guilty only of speaking out for a socialist reorganization of our society by peaceful and democratic means?

Max R. Naiman.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Business is so bad we may have to start laying off my relatives."

Returns the compliment

PAHOKEE, FLA.

A letter from the GUARDIAN calls me "Dear, good Friend!" Let us say Wall St. and its crowd, together with other bad people, amount to 10 millions. That, according to the census, leaves 150 million good Americans. Those 150 millions should call the GUARDIAN "Dear good Friend!" Unfortunately, the great majority do not, because they are blind toward their own good. However, the future belongs to the GUARDIAN, and when its 50th Anniversary comes around most Americans will call it "Dear good Friend!"

R. E. Boe

Gnats and camels

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

It seems such a pity that all of the liberal thinkers cannot cease strangling themselves on gnats and then swallowing camels, and combine all their forces on the overwhelming number of issues on which they are all agreed. The GUARDIAN is a splendid medium for such a message.

Mrs. Bernice E. Baugham

REMEMBER
Guardian Weekend
Chaits
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REPORT TO READERS

Answer to a dilemma

OUR GOOD FRIEND Vincent Hallinan, on p. 4, offers a set of theories on the possible role of Mr. Chief Justice Earl Warren in the coming presidential jousting of our two-party system.

Mr. Hallinan says, in sum, that the GOP high command put Earl Warren on the Court as a build-up for the Republican presidential nomination for 1960; that in due course he will yield to a draft; and that because of the years of liberal decisions identified with the Warren Court, he will be an irresistible candidate, especially to Negro voters because of the school desegregation decision of 1954.

In such eventuality, he asks, "what will those left-wing forces who are working within the Democratic Party do? Stay in and fight the Negroes, or ask us all to step over to the Praetorian Guard of Monopoly Capitalism, the Republican Party?"

WHETHER YOU AGREE with Mr. Hallinan's hypothesis on why Mr. Warren has been a rip-snorting Chief Justice (we don't: we think not Republican string-pulling, but ceaseless effort by American Negroes and liberal forces generally, plus the purity of Justice Black's logic, has resulted in the good decisions) you nevertheless can hardly disagree that the present Chief Justice Warren would be a stunner of a presidential candidate in 1960; and the dilemmas for the Left would then be precisely as Mr. Hallinan poses them.

Having had his fun with his political theorem and its corollary, Mr. Hallinan ends his article without proposing a way to avoid the impending Left dilemmas. We suspect that he has up his sleeve the answer that the Left in America should bury the hatchets elsewhere than in each other's skulls and proceed to planning a political medium of its own to contest for popular support.

WE OURSELVES are of this persuasion, as we stated vociferously in January, 1955, and have repeated often since. It is for this reason that we regret the statement of former N.Y. City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, head of the N.Y. State Communist Party, in **The Worker** of June 1, attacking the efforts of the United Independent-Socialist Conference Committee to intervene with independent candidates in the N.Y. state and senatorial elections this year. Mr. Davis finds the new Committee guilty of association with "viciously anti-Soviet Trotskyists" who have "gotten into the inner circle and are attempting to turn it into a replica of their own narrow sectarian and impotent faction."

Actually an original sponsoring committee of twelve—most of them well-known independents along with a Socialist Party member, a Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) member and a leading educator who has been called a Communist almost as often as Mr. Davis—have called a conference for June 13, 14, 15 at the Great Northern Hotel in New York to consider a united independent-socialist electoral ticket in the state this year. Mr. Davis' attack seems designed to warn Communists against participation with any of the rest of the N.Y. Left in such an endeavor.

His lengthy statement, running seven and a half columns, seems to foretell that the official Communist Party position in 1958 in New York is to support Governor Harriman for re-election since "the labor movement tends to support him"; although Mr. Davis concedes that "the favorable sentiment among the trade unions for Harriman is due more to the weakness of labor in its initiatives for peace, civil rights and civil liberties than it is to the strength of Harriman on meeting the economic and social needs of the people."

As an avoidance of the Democratic Party, which has less to recommend it in New York than almost anywhere else except in the deep South, Mr. Davis seems to approve the idea of supporting Harriman via the Liberal Party, "a going concern, based organizationally upon vitally important sections of the labor movement."

THUS THERE SHAPES up, for Communists who can take it, the prospect of riding the tail of the Democratic Party if they can't ride the Donkey itself. But immediately this stunt-riding act comes a cropper, since the Liberal Party has now joined with the Democrats in New York's Harlem to dump Rep. Adam Clayton Powell at the behest, as the GUARDIAN pointed out two weeks ago, of the Dixiecrats and their northern press spokesman, the **National Review** magazine—whereas the Republicans in Harlem have quickly offered the Rev. Mr. Powell their nomination.

Here we leave Mr. Davis with his dilemma of the present—as well as with the dilemma that Mr. Hallinan sees ahead for 1960—while we change into our go-to-meeting clothes and undertake to do the best we can, even without Mr. Davis' blessing, to bring out of New York's June 13-14-15 Conference a statewide ticket that New Yorkers can support without checking their good consciences at the ticket-wicket.

—THE GUARDIAN

RETURNS FROM ITALY'S ELECTIONS

Left gains, Right loses and Washington worries

THE MAY 25-26 general elections in Italy disappointed Washington hopes that the Communist Party and the left-wing Socialists would drastically lose their electoral strength.

Italians voted for all but six appointive members of the 252-member Senate and a new Chamber of 596 Deputies. The crucial contest was for the Chamber, Italy's parliament. In the outgoing Chamber, a Center coalition of 303 Deputies, built around the dominant Christian Democratic Party, had a majority of 16 seats, while the Communists and Nenni Socialists held 218 seats.

In last month's elections, the pro-West Christian Democrats, the Communists and the Pietro Nenni-led Socialists all increased their popular votes at the expense of the extreme right-wing parties. The Christian Democrats increased their share from 40% in 1953 to 42.2% and the Communists and Nenni Socialists increased theirs from 35.3% to 36.9%.

WRONG RECKONING: The CP lost three seats, the Nenni SP gained eight. In the new Chamber, the Christian Democrats' coalition with 376 Deputies will have a majority of 52 over the 224 CP-SP Deputies (CP, 140; Nenni SP, 84). In the Senate, the Christian Democrats' coalition emerged with a 20-seat majority.

The West's hopes for a sweeping Christian Democrat victory was based upon conflict of opinion which had developed in the CP-Nenni SP alliance since Soviet intervention in Hungary, and on the general improvement in industrial production and foreign trade. The CP, in fact, had lost 15% of its organized strength during the last year. CP leader Palmiro Togliatti and Nenni, however, composed their differences before the elections.

The Christian Democrats benefitted from the recent economic upsurge, but they failed to hurt the Left parties because of the character of the upsurge. Although the ruling coalition generally followed Washington's foreign policy line in NATO, it struck out on its own in the field of foreign trade.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS: Rome quietly cultivated the nations of the Middle East and North Africa for increased trade and investment, sometimes colliding with Western interests.

For example, colorful Enrico Mattei, head of the state-owned oil and energy concern known as ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi), after being curtly denied a minute share in the American and British dominated Iranian oil concern, obtained a concession from Iran on the basis of a 75-25 profit split, with Iran getting the larger share.

This was highly unpalatable to Washington and London, which has a 50-50 profit sharing agreement with Iran.

Mattei failed to obtain a concession from Libya, but he succeeded in Egypt and was said to be negotiating an even more far-reaching agreement with Morocco. President Giovanni Gronchi supported him even at the risk, as Gronchi said, of "giving some displeasure to [Italy's] allies."

The largest increase in Italy's foreign trade, however, has been with Eastern Europe, amounting to over 65%.

None of these economic benefits seeped down to the workers, whose average take-home pay is about $64 a month. Unemployment remained at a constant level of 2,000,000, despite a sharp increase in emigration. Farmers fared worse than industrial workers.

INDEPENDENCE WINS: The Christian Democrats in last month's election benefitted to the degree that they showed independence of Western policy. Neutralist sentiment also cropped up among the Christian Democrats: for example, last February Minister Without Portfolio Rinaldo Del Bo urged a more constructive and conciliatory reply to the Soviet proposal for a top-level conference. Del Bo was severly reprimanded by Vatican spokesmen.

The Vatican favored the Christian Democrats, and even gave special dispensation to the so-called "living dead" nuns to come out of their strict seclusion and vote. Catholic papers interpreted a special Bishops' reminder as an instruction to voters to form "an adequate single front" against "atheistic communism." Some American servicemen added to anti-U.S. sentiment by defacing and destroying many CP election posters.

In the final result Christian Democrats were assured of another term and the monarchists and fascists were reduced to impotence. But the ensuing administration promises to be unrealistic because it will exclude the CP and the Nenni SP, which together polled nearly 37% of the popular votes.

ITALIAN LEFT LOOKING UP
A Rome pre-election rally says 'No' to the Bomb

THE SMITH ACT IN MONTANA

Jury finds Hellman 'guilty' of membership in CP

Special to the Guardian
BUTTE, MONT.

AN APPARENTLY DIVIDED jury here brought in a verdict of guilty May 27 against a fellow-townsman, John Hellman, after a two-week trial under the Smith Act provision making membership in the Communist Party a crime.

The case went to the jury at 5 p.m. Mon., May 26. They were out all night and most of the next day. Early Tuesday afternoon they requested a ruling from trial Judge W. D. Murray on whether they might bring in a verdict of guilty with a recommendation for leniency. The judge ruled that this would be a compromise verdict and not acceptable. Two hours later, at 3 p.m., the guilty verdict was brought in.

Still before Judge Murray are two defense motions for acquittal, one asserting that the indictment did not charge a public offense, the other contending that the evidence had not supported the charge. Judge Murray has both motions under advisement, and did not set a time for sentencing. If the motions are denied, Hellman will appeal. He is still free on bail.

LABOR SPY: Major government witness was Arthur Moralez, an FBI informer inside the Montana Communist Party from 1949 to 1956. On cross-examination he proved to be also a labor spy who reported to the FBI for pay the inner workings of the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

Proof of labor espionage was an official FBI memorandum based upon Moralez' oral report of a meeting of Butte miners local No. 1. It did not contain the name of a single Communist, or make reference to the Communist Party.

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has always sworn that FBI spying was limited to the CP and so-called "subversive" groups, and that reference to unions and non-left organizations was only incidental to the surveillance of the CP.

NAME-DROPPER: Moralez' trial testimony covered the meetings of top Party committees—state and regional—and two full-time party schools. At the second school Moralez alleged that Hellman had stated that socialism could be established only by "violent" means.

Wind-up witness for the government was Barbara Hartle, Seattle Smith Act defendant who betrayed her fellow-defendants by turning informer. She alone of the Seattle defendants served a prison sentence. Early this Spring, the other convictions were reversed by the Court of Appeals.

Cross-examination brought out her role in naming hundreds of persons (actually 470) before House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Seattle and Portland, including her official ex-husband and one ex-common-law-husband.

JOHN HELLMAN
Labor spies don't' like him

DEAN OF LAWYERS: Opening the defense case was H. Lowndes Maury, known locally as the "dean" of Montana lawyers. At 83, he is still active in his profession after 61 years of practice before the Montana bar. As a character witness, he testified that he had known Hellman for eight years. In answer to the question of Hellman's reputation in the community as a law-abiding and honest citizen, his emphatic "good" echoed through the court-room.

Final defense witness was Meridel LeSueur, daughter of pioneer socialist leaders of the Northwest, and author of historical studies, novels and short stories. Testifying as an "expert," she elaborated her definitions with illustrations from the history of struggles of workers and farmers in the Far West, and from her own personal experience as a fighter for the people for 30 years.

When W. S. Kenney, the prosecutor, in cross-examination shifted to "who, when, where" questions with the obvious intent of forcing the witness into "contempt" of court, Judge Murray cut him short.

Two pastors won't pay taxes to make guns

THE REV. Maurice McCrackin, pastor of the West Cincinnati St. Barnabas Church, has refused for the tenth year to pay his income taxes. For three of the ten years he has not even filed a return, in the other years the Internal Revenue Service has filed a lien against his bank account for the amount due.

Rev. McCrackin, a pacifist, has refused to pay because he says the money goes to make arms for killing people.

In a recent letter to President Eisenhower, the minister wrote:

"People have said to me, 'there are other ways of protesting laws and practices in government to which we object.' If we wait for national policy to be changed without making more vigorous protests than these we may all perish in the fires of an atomic war. . . . President Eisenhower, my prayer is that you will not fail your best insight."

SURVIVAL AT STAKE: In New York, Rev. Richard Stenhouse, associate pastor of Harlem's Church for the Master (Episcopal) has refused for the fourth year to pay his federal income tax. He said:

"When the peace and very survival of mankind is at stake, the policy of a government that spends eight times more for war and preparation for war than it does for all other functions of government combined, including health, government and welfare, is sheer foolishness."

The money Rev. Stenhouse has declined to pay as taxes has been contributed to charities and organizations devoted to peace.

Heikkila will be at picnic for Foreign Born Committee

WILLIAM HEIKKILA, the San Francisco draftsman who was kidnaped by the Immigration Service in April, deported to Finland and brought back within a week because of public outcry, will be a guest of honor at the annual picnic and festival of nationalities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J., Sunday, June 29.

Also expected as a special guest is former Michigan State Senator Stanley Nowak of Detroit, who won a Supreme Court decision on his citizenship last month which stalls dozens of denaturalization proceedings initiated against foreign-born long-time citizens because of alleged Communist membership.

Admission to the picnic is $1. There will be folk-dancing and food of many nations. Round-trip bus transportation from Manhattan is $1. Full information may be obtained from the ACPFB, 49 E. 21st St., tel. ORegon 4-5058.

A PREDICTION AND A DILEMMA

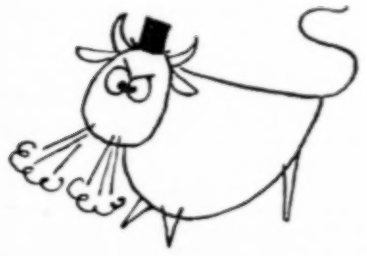
Is Earl Warren being groomed for President?

By Vincent Hallinan

THE MOST significant figure on the American political horizon is Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren. His role is misunderstood even by those whose acumen is customarily of a high order.

Two decisions of his court have focused universal attention on him. We must assess the circumstances under which they were rendered: An inspiring struggle by the Negroes in the Southern States was attracting the notice of the world to their political, economic and social inequality. At the same time, expansionist programs in Africa, Southwest Asia and the Near East required that a fairer face be presented to the colored peoples of the world. So did the necessity of maintaining prestige in the United Nations.

SHIFT OF POLICY: A further problem confronted the Administration in the anti-communist witchhunt: It is now necessary to liquidate the Cold War. Our industries are accumulating enormous surpluses and our merchants are screaming to dispose of them in the only available markets. Our allies have already broken the embargo. The socialist and neutralist forces are growing in numbers and power. A shift of policy here must carry with it a cessation of the persecution of those elements in this country



with whom the peoples now to be mollified are most in sympathy.

The career of Sen. Joseph McCarthy had also warned the Administration against the danger of domestic fuehrers. Such adventurers pose a peril to the existing order as well as to the radicals. McCarthy had already been squelched by a Senatorial censure. It was necessary to repress the lesser imitators who survived him.

The defense American communists made to the witchhunt, and such revelations of government corruption in it as Harvey Matusow's book **False Witness**, had awakened liberal forces to its peril. For several years, such elements have waged a determined fight to end together the oppression of the Negro people in the U.S. and the political persecutions of radicals.

THE TIMING: It was at this juncture that Warren was made Chief Justice.

With a Democratic Party majority in Congress, sustained by Southern white supremacists and by the politico-ecclesiastical machines of the Northern big cities, it was impossible to effect the necessary changes by legislative action. The only possible means was through the Supreme Court. (The demands of space prevent a discussion of its consistent role as a policy-making department of the government.)

Both the integration and the civil rights cases are based on technical grounds. The former only abstracts education from the "equal but separate" doctrine. The latter leaves the Smith Act hanging over the communists. Even the Jencks case, which had Edgar Hoover screaming for the sanctity of his files, only restores to political prosecutions rights which were always available to defendants in ordinary criminal cases.

MYTH CREATED: Now to Earl Warren: Warren was always recognized as an astute politician, close to the GOP's national strategy board. He was not considered a liberal and his appointment

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN
"A masterful build-up. . ."

dismayed the American Left. It remembered him as the District Attorney in the King-Ramsey-Connors labor frame-up.

Nevertheless, it immediately created a Warren myth around the desired decisions. He had "double-crossed" the Administration which had elevated him; freed from the necessity of political chicanery, he had uncovered a latent liberalism, theretofore unsuspected.

The lunatic fringe on the other end of the spectrum called him a Red and demanded his impeachment.

Meanwhile, the reliable organs of monopoly capitalism, like the N.Y. **Times** and the American Bar Assn., rushed to his defense. The magazine **Business Week** criticized Clark's dissent in the Smith Act cases. Warren was a guest of Eisenhower's at the latter's dinner to Queen Elizabeth.

THE BUILD-UP: I do not believe that Warren has immured himself permanently within the Supreme Court. He is robust, active and ambitious. In 1952 he was considered the Republican Party's choice for its presidential candidacy in the event of a deadlock between Taft and Eisenhower. His disclaimer of any such present ambition should gull no one. All candidates must now be "drafted." I cite Eisenhower and Stevenson in 1952.

The Republicans spent over $100,000,000 to hold the White House in 1956. The task of continuing its tenancy in 1960 will be formidable. It will not gamble this on Tricky Dick or the Senator from Formosa. The biggest favor it could do the Democrats is to nominate either one of them.

The appointment of Warren to the Supreme Court so as to enable him to send down the critical decisions was a masterful build-up. No office could confer greater prestige and the times have permitted him to emerge as a shining knight. He is the finest political asset in the country.

THE PREDICTION: Behind his disclaimer, he is already making noises like a candidate. He is meeting the "global" requirements which had Nixon kissing babies in Morocco. He attended conventions of judges in New Delhi and of

lawyers in London. Last year he was in San Francisco urging the erection of a new Bar building and he showed up for the Shrine charity football game on New Year's. He spoke on TV, giving his most robust characterization.

In September, he enrolled in the Hebrew Theological Seminary in New York for a three-day course in Talmudic Law. His attendance at the Sabbath ceremonies wearing the traditional **yarmalka** drew encomiums from the presiding Rab-

bi and a long article in the N.Y. **Times.**

My conclusions were sustained by two more strange pupils who enrolled the very next day, for the remainder of the course. On the American political scene, there is probably no one possessed of a more acute low cunning than Harry S. Truman. The two who joined Warren in his Talmudic Law course were—Harry Truman and Bess!

THE DILEMMA: For a long time, the American Left has contended that no progressive movement was viable which omitted the most oppressed and militant of the country's people, namely the Negroes. If Warren is the next Republican Party Presidential candidate, every Negro in the country will vote for him.

Then what will those left wing forces who are working within the Democratic Party do? Stay in it and fight the Negroes or ask us all to step over to the Praetorian Guard of Monopoly Capitalism, the Republican Party?

CAN A BREAKTHROUGH BECOME A BREAKAWAY?

Bosses pick Brown to stem Powell revolt

WHEN ON MAY 26 the leaders of Tammany Hall named City Councilman Earl Brown for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's seat in Harlem's 16th Congressional District they set the stage for what is likely to be the hottest contest in the 1958 elections

To Tammany leader Carmine G. DeSapio, only one issue had emerged in weeks of jockeying with Powell: loyalty to the machine. Powell, however, had blasted two issues out of the seething political cauldron of Harlem with volcanic force. They put DeSapio on the defensive and it seemed clear that if Tammany failed to act on them the Tiger might emerge from the elections a parboiled cat.

The issues were civil rights and bossism.

WHY BROWN: On civil rights DeSapio's difficulty arises from the fact that Powell has a voting record as good and a vocal record much louder than any in Congress. This accounts for the fact that Brown received the nod almost as an act of desperation after persistent but fruitless efforts had been made to enlist a more prominent Harlem personality.

DeSapio, who doubles as N.Y. Secy. of State, threw Gov. Harriman's weight into the scale in offering the designation to Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and Rev. James H. Robinson, popular pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Master.

But the Governor did not weigh enough. Marshall, in refusing, said that he and Powell "stand for the same thing." Robinson after "a night of prayerful consideration," concluded that Powell was "neither invincible nor unbeatable" but that Negroes had little choice but to support him.

DAVIS FOR POWELL: In face of overwhelming pro-Powell sentiment only the exceptionally brave or unusually foolhardy would risk the race against him. Brown, an assistant editor of **Life** magazine, has not been noted for feats of political daring. He accepted the nomination with an announcement he was "sure" he would win and compared the campaign to his first race for the Council in 1949. In that year Brown defeated Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis Jr. on the strength of the Democratic, Republican and Liberal Party support and the elimination of proportional representation in the city.

Davis countered Brown's effort to make communism a campaign issue by charging that Brown "evidently thinks he can defeat Powell by scandalizing my name." He called Brown "a symbol of the miserable political breed who feeds on stabbing the militant spokesmen of his own people in the back—especially if he thinks they're down." The Powell forces neither welcomed nor rejected Davis' support. They hadn't asked for a statement from him, said J. Raymond Jones, Powell's campaign manager, and they wouldn't; but Jones conceded Davis' right to free speech.

GOP TOO: Another freedom—of choice—was also a big issue with the Republicans. With Powell sentiment spreading in GOP ranks, an advisory committee which had not given county chairman Thomas J. Curran any advice since it was set up last fall, issued a unanimous anti-Powell recommendation. But Harlem district leaders, led by Harold C. Burton, revolted and proceeded with their plans to give Powell the GOP designation.

Burton said: "We will not nominate anybody to oppose Powell and we will not circulate any petitions for anybody else. Any Negro who accepts any nomination to run against Powell is a traitor to his race and bordering on an Uncle Tom."

That left only the Liberal Party unaccounted for. Murray Baron, N.Y. County chairman, indicated support for Brown, which could be accomplished without much dissent in Harlem where the union-backed party has too few members to cause a rumble. The Liberals' anti-Powell stance seemed all the more an empty gesture when A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president, came out for Powell.

BREAKTHROUGH: Harlem voters in this election are obviously fighting for political machinery in which they can carry on an all-out fight for civil rights. They are putting progress above patronage, but complain that they're not getting enough of either. They seem to believe that, under Powell's banner, they can make a major breakthrough toward these goals in Tammany and the GOP. No one has yet intimated that lasting success is likely to require a clean breakaway from both. But this campaign could be an important beginning.

Whatever happens, Mr. Brown of the Luce publications is bound to have the Time of his Life as he seeks his political Fortune in Powell's bailiwick.

LIBERATION FRONT SEEKS TIES WITH LEFT

Algerians see French coup as last spasm of colonialism

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN THE MAY 29 issue of the Natl. Liberation Front (FLN) organ **El Moudjahid,** airmailed from Tunisia and reaching me here May 31, the Algerian view of the **coup d'état** against the French Republic is coolly and optimistically set forth. The issue of the 12-page, professionally-produced weekly bears on its masthead: "1,305th day of the Algerian Revolution."

An editorial on "The Logic of Ultra-Colonialism" pictures French colonialism as "penned within a circle of fire which shrinks each day"; the **coup** by the "ultra" colonialists and generals reveals it "desperately seeking an avenue of escape." The recent "collective delirium" in Algeria's cities and the "spasms which shake the generals" are merely signs of the approaching end.

The gap which "forever separates the Algerian people from its oppressors" is unbridgable, and French colonialism cannot escape "its proper destiny," which is "to perish." However, it is in its nature to fight to the death and it will now appear in its "most virulent and, so to speak, primary" form with the fig-leaves of legality and reason discarded. The "ultras" now controlling it will make the war broader and more implacable, but will in their turn prove their impotence to save the system "just as one proves movement by walking."

THE FRENCH LEFT: In this new and decisive phase of the war, the paper says, the "solemn hour sounds for the United Maghreb" whose outlines were laid down in the recent Tangier conference. But it is also a decisive hour for "all the democratic forces of the world" and especially for the French Left which bears "heavy responsibility" for the war.

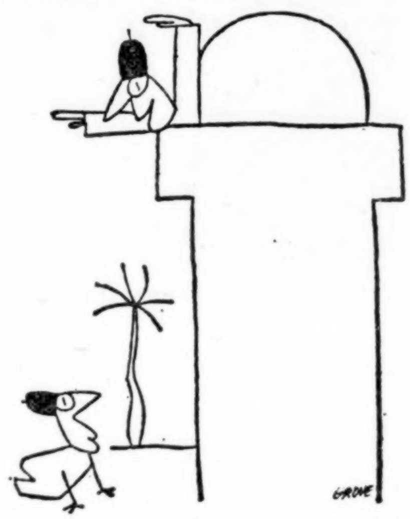
The FLN has been very critical of the French Left, but the time has come when the "natural ties" between it and the Algerian Revolution "can be established on a non-ambiguous basis . . . More than ever this truth imposes itself: democracy in France can only exist by way of the peace and independence of Algeria." Any further weakness of the French Left would be final proof that "in France the people are no longer capable of defending their own liberties, and that that country is ripe for tyranny and fascism."

In another editorial on "The French Chaos," the claim of Franco-Moslem "fraternization" in Algeria is described as "sensational mystification, extravagant bluff" reminiscent of Goebbel's propaganda. By solemnly suggesting that "in hardly a few seconds" the acclamations of the Moslems could be won for Gen. Massu "who for years has been their hangman," the Massu-Soustelle team only showed its "primitive mentality."

The Algerian people have long since exhausted every possibility of peaceful co-existence with the French, who could have stopped the war if they would renounce their "colonial mission."

FAKERY: According to **El Moudjahid,** only a few score of Moslems (not 22,000 as reported) participated in the May 17 "Franco-Moslem demonstration," and these were rounded up in the Casbah by French paratroopers. Women described as "burning their veils" on Soustelle's demand at the May 18 demonstration were herded in from the "bidonvilles" (Hoovervilles) and surrounded by paratroopers and "racist Europeans yelling and laughing."

The paper recalled that such "spontaneous demonstrations of attachment to France" had often been staged before. They were part of France's "psychological warfare" program headed by the expert Col. Lacheroy, who said in a recent speech: "There is nothing to be gained by killing the body, it is the souls that must be destroyed for the salvation of the West."



Grove in Canard Enchaine, Paris

"—Allah is on high but, as you can see, DeGaulle is higher!"

THE TERROR: Among recent French atrocities, **El Moudjahid** reports the April 28 round-up of hundreds of Arabs in Constantine, who were forced to run naked through the streets with their hands on their heads, wagging their fingers and braying like donkeys. (From the Cameroons, where a similar French terror reigns, the paper reports that from one community of 251 inhabitants, 249 were herded to Dschang concentration camp and slaughtered; in another, 60 persons were shut in a house and burned alive; in another, children going to school were "arrested" and all but three killed and their bodies thrown in the river.)

The paper quotes from the May issue of the W. German **Soldaten Zeitung** the comments of editor Erich Kern, who recently visited Algeria: "The German soldier, defamed all over the world, never let himself go to the point of committing such crimes. There was an Oradour in France, here there are 1,000 . . . and the strangest thing is that the world which condemned German soldiers is silent . . . It is most paradoxical that for such acts there are no Nuremberg judges." For the acts of French soldiers in Algeria, Kern wrote, the "just sentences" (Kern's quotation marks) imposed at Nuremberg would be "merely an insult to justice."

In its regular War Diary feature **El Moudjahid** lists, for the period May 1-26, scores of engagements and ambushes all over Algeria in which the French lost 2,054 killed and thousands more wounded, 27 aircraft and massive supplies; and nearly 100 attacks (casualties unlisted) on French military posts.

Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

weaken our internal defenses."

GLAD TO TALK: Eaton promptly announced he would be glad to come before the Committee and discuss **"the Federal secret police and intelligence agencies and the effects, as I see them, of the sub rosa activities on the freedoms guaranteed to the citizens by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."** He added:

"In the name of national security these secret police and intelligence agencies carry on their operations in a cloak-and-dagger atmosphere of complete secrecy, and claim absolute immunity from the scrutiny of the public for whom they profess to act. The charge that anyone who challenges them is 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy' is the familiar but threadbare line that is constantly employed to throttle the traditional American freedoms for which the Founding Fathers of the republic were willing to lay down their lives."

The attempt to pillory Eaton, who is not only wealthy but has the high regard of scientists throughout the world and has organized major scientific conferences on the atomic bomb, was sure to kick back. In Congress Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) said the Un-Americans should have their charter overhauled or be abolished outright. He brought up the matter in the course of the debate on statehood for Alaska. Alaska's constitution provides that "the right of all persons to fair and just treatment in the course of legislative and executive investigations shall not be infringed."

TIRED JOKE: Roosevelt recommended that guarantee to all the states, criticized the summoning of Eaton as a consequence of his criticism, and quoted from a letter in the Washington **Post** written by Frank Waldrup, former editor of the Washington **Times-Herald. Waldrup** wrote of "this nonsensical committee which has, indeed, at last established itself as clearly the true Committee on Un-American Activities. The joke is feeble and damned tired. I will admit, and I wish it didn't fit. But it does."

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) suggested that Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, summon J. Edgar Hoover along with Eaton. That seemed unlikely but Hennings indicated that the Senate Committee on Constitutional Rights, which he heads, intended to call both men. Hennings said he was particularly interested in Hoover's statement, in his interview with **Rep. Keating,** that the **FBI** now had 90 wiretaps in "internal security cases." **Hennings** planned to ask what authority Hoover had in the light

Herblock in Washington Post

"Ha. An un-American tendency toward free speech!"

of the ban on Federal taps in the Federal Communication Act.

Hoover had said that those tapped were not necessarily confined to Communists but might include some in "the twilight zone" of what the FBI sees as dangerous liberalism. There are other eavesdropping techniques such as "bugging"—the planting of concealed microphones—which could affect many more people.

MASSIVE TOTAL: The Cleveland **Press** undertook to check Eaton's figures comparing Hitler's Gestapo with the number of those now employed in "investigating . . . snooping . . . informing and creeping up on" Americans. The **Press** said Hitler had anywhere from 20,000 to 50,000 agents and perhaps 300,000 volunteer snoopers. By contrast the newspaper gathered these figures from Federal sources:

The FBI employs 14,000 people, of whom 6,000 are actual agents. The Treasury Dept. has 16,000 agents, the Army, 5,900, the Navy, 8,300, the Air Force, 7,859, the Dept. of Justice (aside from the FBI), 1,859. Another 7,300 investigators work for Farm control programs, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Labor Dept. and the General Accounting Office.

Government experts put the total at under 100,000 but their figures did not include the far-ranging and very secret Central Intelligence Agency, the investigators for Congressional Committees, the extensive investigatory staffs of the individual states and cities or the police. The figures do not include private investigators for industrial companies or those who volunteer to snoop on their neighbors.

NEW YORK RALLIES: If Eaton is subpenaed—so far he has received no word—he may lift the lid on the snoopers' network that now surrounds most Americans, including the snoopers, themselves. Aware that they have a tiger by the tail in Eaton, the Un-Americans have gone after others less likely to stir Congressional action. In recent months the committee members have been holding closed-door hearings involving figures in the entertainment world, up to now a fruitful source of headlines for probers. Others summoned were involved in public housing administration. They have set open hearings for New York in the middle of this month.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has called two June meetings in New York to protest the hearings, to celebrate Supreme Court decisions upholding civil liberties and rally New Yorkers against pending oppressive legislation in Congress.

On June 16 Judge Walter H. Gladwin, Russ Nixon, Washington representative of the United Electrical Workers, and psychologist Dr. Charles Collins will speak at Hunts Point Palace, 163rd St. and Southern Blvd. in the Bronx.

On June 18 Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, philosopher and civil libertarian, and Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg of New Haven will address a meeting in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel New Yorker.

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IMPRESSIONS OF ISRAEL—I

The land where the kids are kings

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent
(First of two articles)

AN ISRAEL 10th Anniversary Committee questionnaire listing top developments in the young state's existence recently asked some 40,000 Israeli citizens: "What, to you, is the most important event in the life of the State of Israel?" The most frequent reply was: "The gathering in, by a country of 900,000, of 1,000,000 new immigrants."

That achievement has been stupendous, but there is another that is perhaps no less important which cannot be measured in figures: the new meaning of life given by Israel to most of its immigrants.

Eleven years ago, at the former concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen, I saw a few thousand Jews still behind barbed wire waiting to go to Israel. Many had been marked lastingly. Survival was all that had counted in the camp. Now, three years afterwards, some had so completely unlearned normal living that they were still only surviving in their tightly shut-up universe of anguished memories. Ex-inmates of concentration camps in Israel today have lost the old fear and indifference and have found a new reason to live and a new dignity.

The confidence and courage in the eyes of those only recently harassed and persecuted, and the assurance of the young who feel this country is theirs and will be what they make of it, are still the most impressive thing to be seen in Israel today.

I recently visited Israel with a French press group on an official one-week tour. A week is too short for sweeping statements, but long enough for personal impressions. Here is our week in Israel, blow by blow:

THURSDAY: Arrival at Lydda Airport at 1 a.m. A big coffee table is laid out in the airport waiting room. It's as informal as a family reception. A half-hour bus ride to our hotel, in a Tel Aviv suburb, the city's newest and most modern.

DAVID BEN-GURION
For another million immigrants

In the morning, first view of Israel from our hotel balcony: sun, sand and the Mediterranean. The city of Tel Aviv, ten miles away, is the least attractive of all Israeli cities. It is still mushrooming. For a time, houses here were built anywhere, anyhow: Victorian, colonial, suburban, or just drab. Today the new apartment houses are strikingly attractive, with emphasis on air, sunshine and outdoor comfort.

Tel Aviv is a busy city in more ways than one. Because unorganized labor's wages are low (the minimum-maximum wage span, incidentally, is about 1:3 here) and near-tropical working hours (to 3-or 4 p.m. only) permit it, many people frequently hold down a second job in the afternoon to round out the family budget.

It's Purim today, and there's a children's parade in the streets of Tel Aviv. But it doesn't take a holiday to make the children the kings of the land. Come from all parts of the world, they have really formed a new race. The old game of nationality-guessing becomes hopeless here. This little girl looks Mediterranean: her parents came from Holland. This boy could be English: his grandfather immigrated from Rumania. Many speak Hebrew only.

CELEBRATING THE 'FEAST OF THE HARVEST'
A young Israeli girl marks the observance of Shevuoth

AFTERNOON: A visit to a big agricultural school near Tel Aviv, Israel's oldest, set up long before the mainstreams of immigration. Boy and girl students are in two different co-ed groups: religious and non-religious. (Religion is a real problem here because of the intolerance of the religious groups.)

The school director takes us on a tour through his fields, chicken farms and bee-hives, and picks oranges for us from the trees (the very oranges that are so hard to come by for the Israeli citizen: they are for export). Agriculture is of prime importance not only because it must produce enough to feed the population. It is more than that. The collective working of the land has transformed many newcomers' lives; it has also provided the deepest, most vital tie between the Israeli citizen and his country.

FRIDAY: Our biggest trip inside Israel: by plane to Eilath, on the Gulf of Akaba. A low flight across the Negev desert, a brown stretch of wasteland which must be turned into fertile land if the Israeli population continues to grow as in the past ten years. Water piped from the Tel Aviv region—the famous Yarkon-Negev conduit—has already turned the Northern Negev to fertile land. Irrigating and settling the Southern Negev is the administration's number one plan for the future.

RAPID GROWTH: Eilath has grown from nearly zero population in 1950 to 4,000 today, and the young mayor (Dutch origin) already talks of 40,000 soon. He says: "I work 36 hours out of 24."

Eilath's reasons for being, economic and military, are closely interwoven. An oil port with pipe lines ultimately to link the Red Sea to the Mediterranean and avoid the Suez Canal passage is a basic installation for peace and war alike. In the Mid-East not-so-cold war, a vacuum such as the So. Negev, so close to potentially hostile countries, can be an invitation to trouble. So pioneers, fresh immigrants, others are encouraged through high wages and tax exemptions to settle in this far-off place, in well above 100 degrees in the shade, on the edge of the desert.

Eilath is rich in semi-precious stones. There is copper and iron, and a copper mine has recently opened just outside the town. It is near the ancient site of King Solomon's mines. Slag fields are all that is left of them today.

As everywhere in this Biblical land, the present far outweighs the past. The present: that's the port and its line of merchant and battleships. It is the rows of modern two-story houses overlooking the gulf; the brand new cultural center and restaurant; and already the first tourist hotel.

But Eilath is also a tale of absurdity. Crowding the small Akaba Gulf are four different countries: Israel, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia and Egypt. Each owns a few miles of desert land along the gulf between two narrow border lines. Hidden in the different border strips are soldiers on guard day and night, ready to fire at the first provocation. They are defending stretches of wasteland at the point of a gun.

SATURDAY: All-day bus trip to Beersheba, in the Northern Negev, and Sodom, on the Dead Sea. This is the Sabbath, and there are very few vehicles on the road. In most places, on Saturday, all public transportation comes to a halt. In some, the private Saturday driver risks smashed windows, cut tires or worse, from the orthodox religious groups. It appears that in Israel, public observance of religious rules is not a state but a municipal matter. Thus, in Haifa, under a progressive municipal administration, you can not only ride buses on Saturday, but even buy pork.

Beersheba has been built from a small Turkish village into a city of 30,000, the capital of the Northern Negev, first slice of desert turned into fertile land. And the 70-mile-long Yarkon-Negev conduit which has begun to bring water to the Negev is only part of an overall far-flung irrigation scheme that will change much of Israel in the next few years.

Some way out of Beersheba, a few textile factories are the first outposts of life coming to another desert region.

The road that leads from Beersheba to the Dead Sea—the lowest road leading to the lowest sea in the world—is hewn from the desert rock; for engineering boldness, it is among the most magnificent any of us has seen. Several of its builders paid for it with their lives in desert skirmishes. Their monument today overlooks an awe-inspiring landscape of rolling desert hills scaling down to the Dead Sea.

In Sodom, the giant salt rocks walling the sea, and more still a feeling of forlornness, and the unearthly soundlessness that goes with below-sea-level places, speak of Biblical times. But just a few miles away, a chemical factory has begun to extract potash from the heavy grey Dead Sea waters.

SUNDAY: Tel Aviv-Jerusalem by car. As it moves out of the orange- and wine-growing plain into the rolling hillsides of the Yehuda Mountains, the highway becomes a historic road. The soldiers of the War of Independence who fought and carried supplies up to Jerusalem along it baptised it Road of Courage. No nation shows more patriotism than a young nation, no people is more proudly aware of its history than one that has only a brief span of it.

More vividly than any other place in Israel, the site of Jerusalem, the olive- and pine-grown hills surrounding it, recall Biblical times.

But present history is noisier. Since 1948, Jerusalem has been split in two: "Don't step forward any more, sir"—the guide warns one of our group on the edge of a vantage point looking across to the Jordanian part of the city. "There are Jordanian soldiers on guard on the rooftops over there. If you advance too far, they are going to shoot . . ."

Jerusalem's dividing wall shows up from many points of town, like an unhealing wound. It does more than cut a city in two. It splits it into two worlds: Occident, on one side, Orient, on the other. A member of Ramat Rachel, famous outpost kibbutz on the edge of Jerusalem, a stone's throw from the Jordanian border, has it his own way: "This is the last electric lamp between here and Baghdad." This side of Jerusalem, it's the 20th century. The other side, it's medieval feudalism.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Central fact of the day: a one-hour meeting with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Ben-Gurion, smiling, lively, and young beneath his white hair, is a statesman and a philosopher. As a philosopher, he exchanged Plato quotations with a Greek scholar among our delegation, and wandered off more freely into the realms of thinking and planning.

"The other peoples of Antiquity saw the Golden Age in the past. We saw it, we still see it, in the future."

Turning from philosophy to science: "Our future is in the South—the Southern Negev. To solve our irrigation problems, and more generally our economic problems, we must look to three means that the near future will open up to mankind: solar energy; atomic energy; and desalting of the sea water.

"My aim for the next ten years? Take in another million immigrants. The last ten years' million was for the North; the next one must be for the South. And —one other aim. In our first ten years, we have had two wars. May our next ten years be without war."

In the precarious Middle Eastern balance between cold and hot war, peace is a word impossible to repeat too often. For Israel, it is not only the hope of a better life. You only have to look at the map, at its border lines and its jobs ahead, to realize that for Israel, there can be neither life nor progress without peace.

NEXT WEEK: The kibbutzim, science, and the future.

What will those Reds do next?

THERE IS OBVIOUSLY no limit to the perfidy of Soviet Russia. Wall St. took the Russian atomic and nuclear bombs, and the Sputniks in stride but currently is terrified by reports that Russia is fixing to issue a gold ruble. The **Magazine of Wall Street**, shocked right down to its shoe laces, says rubles backed by actual gold, and interchangeable with gold, "would give Russia a major currency propaganda victory of first importance in her destructive economic warfare against the United States."

The magazine exhorts America to take steps to cushion the shock. It envisions moneyed people throughout the world using the American dollar only to light cigars or paper rumpus-room walls. Choice deals would be quoted in gold-paying rubles.

It means that Russia would be converting a capitalistic weapon—sound money—to its own immoral purposes.

—Seattle **Post-Intelligencer**

'A SEAT IN THE KINGDOM'

Montgomery's little people still sing together

By Louis E. Burnham

THE YOUNG WOMAN spoke with a quiet intensity. The voice was subdued, almost deferential; but flashing black eyes illuminated an angular brown face. Clearly this was a topic close to her heart—the Montgomery bus boycott.

"I admire Rev. King a lot," she said. He's a fine man. When he speaks he commands attention. And he's intelligent. But I admire the little people more. He wouldn't have done it without the little people.

"There's a woman in my neighborhood, she can't read or write. But she could walk, and she did. She didn't make but $15 a week and that little bit of money meant a lot to her. But she walked even though she knew her boss-lady'd fire her for joining the boycott. Now she's unemployed and all of us chip in whatever we can to help out."

THE STRANGER asked the young woman what kind of neighborhood she lived in, and she smiled.

"During the boycott," she said, "when my grandmother was sick and almost dying, if I just put the porch light on any time of night—three o'clock in the morning—the house would be crowded with neighbors in a few minutes. That's the kind of neighborhood I live in."

The stranger wanted to know if the people were still as enthusiastic about the Montgomery Improvement Assn., the organization that conducted the successful two-year boycott against jimcrow on Montgomery buses, as they had been during the long days of '55 and '56.

"Oh, sure! You ought to go to one of the mass meetings and you'll see. There'll be one tomorrow night at Rev. Abernathy's church, Holt Street Baptist."

THE MASS MEETING was called for seven o'clock. At 6:45 the church was two-thirds full. Six out of every seven people who filled most of the pews in the downstairs auditorium and much of the balcony were women. They were of all colors and classes, but the median veered sharply to the darker side of the color spectrum and the lower brackets of income.

They were the women you'd hardly ever find at gatherings of Negro middle and upper class organizations. In fact, though they dominated the audience, not one sat on the platform or had any leading part in the program of the MIA mass meeting.

But they had been the "feet" of a movement which could not have succeeded without them; and they continued to be the spirit of a movement that goes on despite the seeming lack of experience of its leaders, largely because they won't let it die.

Almost as if because they knew they would be shut out of a leading role when the meeting formally opened, the women dominated the 45 minutes of song and supplication which preceded the opening prayer.

NO ONE GUIDED the proceedings; no one stood in front of the church and suggested what hymn to sing. But song and prayer followed each other in unbroken succession, recalling years and generations of anguish heaped high and hopes deferred.

From one spot in the church a voice rose, filled with infinite patience, singing a low, forlorn melody. It was a song with an almost interminably long line. Sometimes the audience joined the leader. Throughout, it hummed its mournful supporting harmonies in a minor key, while the soloist carried the high obligato.

As one song tapered off into the night another began. Sometimes a prayer separated one song from another:

Please, Jesus, don't leave us alone.
Don't' get tired of us asking for mercy, Lord, 'cause I know mercy will meet our case. So if your will be done, everything is all right.

Then, suddenly, the effortless transition from fervent prayer to spirited song:

Talk about me as much as you please.
When I get home I'm going to get on my knees.
Since I know I've got a seat in the Kingdom,
That's all right.

THE MAIN FEATURE of the formal part of the meeting was a sermon, delivered by Rev. Vernon Johns, now director of a Baptist Training Center in Baltimore, who had preceded Rev. Martin Luther King at Montgomery's Dexter Ave. Baptist Church.

Rev. Johns is a veteran teacher and preacher and one of the outstanding exponents of what has come to be known as the social gospel. His people, he said, were coming out of the caint's. (We cain't do this, we cain't do that, we cain't go here, we cain't eat there.)

They were optimistic, not gloomy about the future. But, he warned, they ought not keep up their optimism by refusing to look at what's bad in life, like the man who said, "It's all right so far," as he fell past the 12th story window going down from the 20th. Montgomery had proved, he said, that human life is justified and human dignity must be fought for.

For a people reared on sermons, good and bad, this one was richly rewarding. There were moments for chuckles, times for hearty amens and plenty of inspiration.

BUT ONE OBSERVER wondered whether, after two-and-a-half years, the members of MIA did not need something much more desperately than inspiration; whether the rather perfunctory announcements about the campaign for voter registration then in progress should not have been the heart of the meeting; whether steps should not have been taken to give the members something to do and not just something to think about.

The young lady had been right about the spirit. The cab driver who carried the stranger from the mass meeting was even more specific:

"We've made up our minds," he said, "we're going to get what we're supposed to have. It's going to take a hard fight and a good bit of suffering.

"The white folks, they've tried everything. They fired cooks been working for them eight-ten-fifteen years; then they run beggin' for 'em to come back after the boycott succeeded. Lots of 'em wouldn't go back. I know one told me she wouldn't go back if she had to work in the fields first. 'Course she went to work for another white woman who had fired her cook, too, but she wouldn't go back to the one she used to have."

HE WAS A TALL, strong-bodied man; his face bore an expression friendly but firm. He enjoyed talking about "the white folks."

"They try plantin' rumors, dividing Negroes. But they may as well drop that and go to studyin' something else. We just not gon be divided any more. Was a time you just couldn't got 2,000 of our folks together for anything in Montgomery unless you were going to give away something. But not any more."

The next day, the young lady was pleased that the stranger had enjoyed the mass meeting. She knew he'd find the spirit high. "You know," she said, "Montgomery is a nasty, dirty town for colored people. Sometime I think I ought to leave, things are so bad. But I remember that the darkest hour nexes day—that's why I stay."

NEGRO VOTERS REGISTER TO VOTE IN THE DEEP SOUTH
"It's going to take a hard fight and a good bit of suffering," said the cab driver.

NAACP TO HONOR NINE 'TENDER WARRIORS'

Little Rock Central High graduates its first Negro

A PERFECT FIT FOR ERNEST GREEN
First Negro grad of Central High will enter Michigan U. next fall

ON MAY 28, under Presidential order, the last 400 members of the federalized Arkansas National Guard were withdrawn from duty in and around Little Rock's Central High School. Since last Sept. 24 the Guardsmen and 1,000 paratroopers from the 101st Airborne Division had guaranteed nine Negro children entrance into the previously all-white school.

Inside the school the soldiers, even though they patrolled the corridors, were of little help to the youngsters. In hallway and locker rooms, classroom and gym, auditorium and lunchroom, the Nine were jostled, slapped, cursed, heckled, kicked and spat upon.

The offenders were a small hard core of the student body of 2,000, but they succeeded in making the first year of integrated education a minor torment for their Negro schoolmates.

THE WINNERS: But at the year's end there was no question where the victory belonged. The segregationists had provoked the expulsion of Minnijean Brown, who is now a scholarship student in a New York private school. The other eight, however, had stuck it out.

Carlotta Wells finished the last six weeks on her class honor roll. And the evening before the troops left 16-year-old Ernest Green, along with 600 other seniors, walked across the football field to receive his diploma from Principal Jess Matthews.

Ernest was the natural leader of the group, had been described as a boy of "supreme personal confidence." Early in the struggle, when asked what he thought of the violence unleashed by Gov. Orval Faubus' use of National Guardsmen to keep the Negro children out of the school, Ernest replied: "It's just the price we've got to pay. And for what is involved, I think it is cheap at the price."

TO GET MEDALS: One of the things involved for young Green is a tuition-free scholarship to Michigan State U.; he finished in the top 10% of his class. All the nine students have been informed they will be awarded the Spingarn medal at the July convention of the NAACP. The medal is given each year to a Negro citizen of outstanding achievement.

The calm at the graduation exercises was disturbed by only one reported incident. A senior, Curtis E. Stover, spat in the face of a Negro girl upon leaving the exercises. He was promptly arrested and released on $200 bond for a June 12 hearing.

Meanwhile, others were depending on more than petty spite to stop integration. On May 6, F. B. Wright, North Little Rock school superintendent, announced he would not renew the contract of Mrs. Lois Patillo, an English teacher at the Scipio Jones High School. Mrs. Patillo's daughter, Melba, is one of the Negro students at Central. The Little Rock school board has petitioned the Federal District Court to postpone further integration until January, 1961.

BOOKS

Keir Hardie—an incorruptible people's leader

LONDON

IN BRITAIN these days the name of Keir Hardie is increasingly invoked by petty-statured Labor pie-cards seeking to wrap themselves in a corner of his mantle, and by nostalgic rank-and-filers of the Left wondering when the tide of events will throw up another giant to lead them. This phenomenon parallels the revived American interest in Eugene Debs, who saw the light in the frontier settlement of Terre Haute a few months before the birth of Hardie to an unmarried Scottish servant-girl.

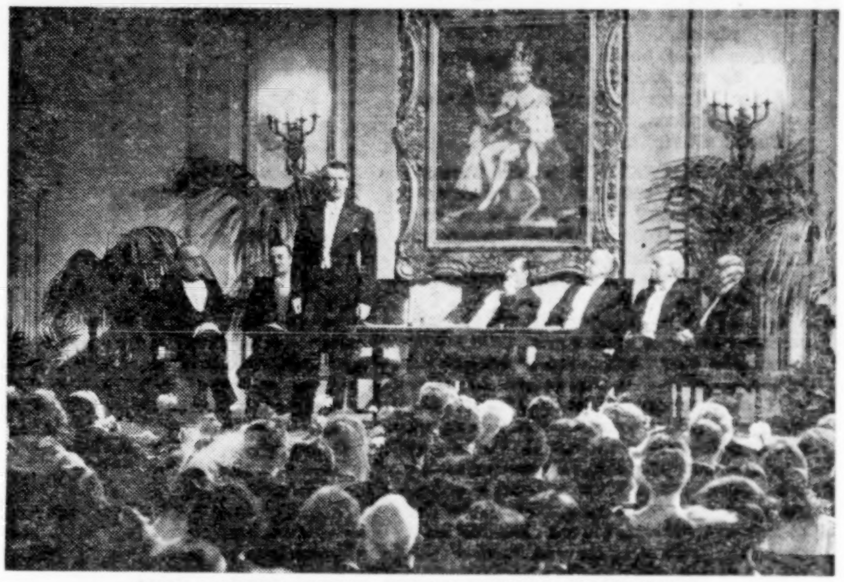
History repeats itself least of all in the production of courageous and incorruptible people's leaders, and none will suggest that a carbon copy of Hardie or Debs is what the present situation requires. But all progressives in the English-speaking world have much to learn from the lives of these men, and it is to be hoped that a U.S. publisher will be found for the new Hardie biography by his son-in-law, Emrys Hughes, M.P.*

Hardie, in contrast to Sam Gompers with whom he shared the British Trades Union Congress platform in 1909, insisted on the need for a working-class political party. The father of the Labor Party visited Debs in jail following the Pullman strike of 1895 and discussed socialism all day; in 1912 he helped Debs campaign for the Presidency.

HE WAS NOT ONE of the great theoreticians, but while never watering down his own socialism he placed first the building of a mass workers' party, in the conviction that a socialist policy would inevitably develop. He recommended Carlyle, Edward Carpenter, Burns and Whitman for workers' reading as well as Marx, whom he liked to quote on the futility of rigid socialist sects.

Above all this Scot with a strong poetic strain wanted the new Labor Party to stir public imagination by its stand on issues of the day such as reduction of working hours, votes for women and mass opposition to war. For these things he fought uncompromisingly and often at great risk to himself.

First going to work at eight, and self-educated while putting in an 11½-hour day in coal mines from the age of 10 to 23, Hardie "never knew what it was to be a child" and never forgot the experience that started him along the socialist road. Other working-class leaders have had comparable beginnings and shorter memories, and just what it is that makes a Hardie tick steadily for a lifetime is still a secret of human chemistry.



KEIR HARDIE DIDN'T TRUST RAMSAY MACDONALD
A scene from the movie, Fame Is the Spur, based upon the life of the first Labor Prime Minister

DEFEATED SEVERAL TIMES before his election as one of the first Labor MP's, Hardy was pilloried by liberals for "splitting the anti-Tory vote." He scandalized the top-hatted parliamentarians by appearing in homespun clothes and a tweed cap; by his deununciations of both the Boer and the 1914 wars as rackets cloaked in phoney patriotism; by exposing racist imperialism, and by offering resolutions to abolish the monarchy.

He was smeared as an "atheist," a "foreigner" and a "traitor," as a taker of "Tory gold," as one who "made a fortune out of socialism" (his top annual income was £210); as a "pro-German" in 1914; and, when he pointed out on a trip to India that in 50 years of British rule 30,000,000 people had died of hunger there, as a "fosterer of sedition." As he once remarked, "the lie goes round the world while truth is putting on her boots."

Yet by 1906 he was leader of a party with 29 MP's. He died nine years before Labor first came to power, and two years before the Russian revolution gave reaction a new weapon to sow confusion among Western progressives.

Bernard Shaw, prophesying in 1910 the day when the King would "send for the Keir Hardie of the day" to form a government, said: "Would to God it were the Keir Hardie of today." History decreed that it should be Ramsay MacDonald, of whom biographer Hughes quotes Hardie as having remarked to his secretary: "He will betray the movement."

SUPPORTING THE Labor Party's application to affiliate with the Second International in 1908, Lenin said it represented "the first step toward a conscious class party and toward a socialist Labor Party." The British trade unions, he wrote, were "approaching socialism, awkwardly, hesitatingly, in a zig-zag fashion, but approaching it nevertheless."

Yet for many years now the party—the result of a century of untold effort and sacrifice—has been dominated by men of essentially bourgeois mentality, if not background. The weekly Economist suggested, when old-school-tie-man Gaitskell was elected to head the party, that its leader's main function in the next 20 years was "to turn his back on the age of Keir Hardie."

If this is partially true insofar as the struggle is now on different ground, and even the Tories now accept government responsibility for making such a childhood as Hardie's impossible, it is to the courage and incorruptibility of the Hardies that British workers owe the debt.

BUT READING Hardie's speeches today, Hughes "wonders sometimes whether the Labor Party today has caught up with Keir Hardie." He points to the dangers of rank-and-file cynicism and frustration now that so many people see so little difference between the Tory and Labor parties with their huge political machines. What would Hardie, who urged a general strike to stop World War I and was "the uncompromising critic of the theory that if you want peace you must prepare for war," have thought of "a Labor Party that approved of conscription and the Hydrogen Bomb?"

Hardie's battles were fought in the days when anti-stuffed-shirt MP's—frequently Irish — wouldn't shut up until they were physically removed from the House of Commons by police. Today when Labor potentially represents the majority and the Tories rule, all is dignity at Westminster. Hughes hopes the party won't put Hardie into a stained glass window, forget his message and lose his inspiration.

The Aldermaston march seems to have ushered in a new period when thousands vote with their feet, not for any stained-glass party machine, but for humanity and for principle. To whatever extent his party is thereby put back on the socialist road, the spirit of the man in the tweed cap is surely saying Aye to that.

—Cedric Belfrage

**KEIR HARDIE, by Emrys Hughes. Allen & Unwin, Ruskin House, Museum St., London; 248 pp., 15s ($2.10).*

Rosenberg-Sobell trial record in 3rd printing

A POPULAR edition of the complete transcript of the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell will be re-issued on June 2 in its third printing. The Rosenbergs were executed five years ago, and Morton Sobell is seeking freedom from a 30-year sentence.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell said that requests for the record are being received from attorneys, educators, clergymen, law students and laymen who want to read the word-by-word drama of the trial to form an opinion as to whether justice was done.

Since the trial in 1951, thousands have read the complete record and many eminent Americans have appealed in behalf of the defendants on the basis of reading the transcript. Dr. Harold C. Urey, atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner, commented:

"Until the time I was half-way through the record, I was convinced that the defendants were completely guilty. But as I read on I was shocked by what had taken place. It was plainly obvious that there was outright perjury. I was astounded at how little there was about Morton Sobell in the trial. You cannot tell what he is even supposed to have done."

TRANSCRIPT OF ROSENBERG-SOBELL TRIAL, published by Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. Eight vols., 1,715 pp., paper-bound, $6.

Border trouble no accident

Two Oxford students, both Royal Navy veterans, are now on trial in London on a charge of violating the Official Secrets Act for an article published in the Oxford University magazine Isis. In it they charged that Western powers deliberately create border incidents with the Soviet Union to acquire military information.

At the start of the trial on May 21 the prosecutor told the court that the defendants, while serving in the Royal Navy, "became acquainted with such of the activities as are mentioned in that article which are true." Two days later Radio Moscow commented: "The system of organization of provocation along the Soviet border, the secret of which was unveiled by two students, now has received official recognition."

The Isis article has since been published as a leaflet by the Universities and Left-Review Club and is being widely distributed in Britain. The text follows:

THE DOCTRINE OF WESTERN sincerity and the good fight against Russian wickedness is fostered in many little ways: and not the least of these is the misreporting of news. We wish to expose one variety of this. Frontier incidents are almost invariably reported as ferocious and unjust attacks by Russian fighters on innocent Western aircraft peacefully cruising well within their own frontiers. Sometimes it is conceded that the victim has lost its way.

This is British understatement at its best. All along the frontier between East and West, from Iraq to the Baltic, perhaps farther, are monitoring stations, manned largely by national servicemen trained in Morse or Russian, avidly recording the least squeak from Russian transmitters—ships, tanks, planes, troops and control stations. It is believed, perhaps rightly, that this flagrant breach of the Geneva Convention can provide accurate estimates of the size and type of Russian armaments and troops, and the nature of their tactical methods.

IN ORDER TO GET THIS INFORMATION the West has been willing to go to extraordinary lengths of deception. British embassies usually contain monitoring spies. When the fleet paid a "goodwill" visit to Danzig in 1955 they were on board. And since the Russians do not always provide the required messages they are sometimes provoked. A plane "loses" its way; while behind the frontier tape recorders excitedly read the irritated exchanges of Russian pilots: and when the latter sometimes force the plane to land an international incident is created, and reported in the usual fashion. The famous Lancaster bomber incident near Berlin was deliberately provoked in this way.

In a moment of crisis irresponsibility of this kind could well frighten the Russians into war. Certainly if Russian planes were to fly over American bases the American reply would be prompt. But there is no controlling the appetite of the statistical analyzers at Cheltenham.

PERHAPS THE BEST EXAMPLE of their activities is in the Baltic. After the war a fleet of half-a-dozen exceedingly fast Mercedes-Benz torpedo-type boats were built and, manned by sailors from Hitler's navy, were sent out under English captains to provoke and listen to the Russians. They would head straight for the Russian fleet at exercise and circle round a battleship taking photographs. When they had succeeded in concentrating all the guns of the fleet and recorded enough messages they fled.

When in Swedish waters, contrary to all international conventions, they flew the Swedish flag. One British captain, who was suitably equipped with a wooden leg which lent a certain glamor to his quixotic behavior, so far exceeded the normal practice, which was merely to enter Russian territorial waters, as to go into Leningrad harbor, and on another occasion to land a small party in Russia. It is incredible that this should have been allowed, but the irresponsibility bred and sheltered by the Official Secrets Act is uncontrollable. In 1956 the new German Navy took over the full control of these boats and are doubtless happily continuing our own policy.

De Gaulle in power

(Continued from Page 1)

and enthusiasm to 'contaminate' the neighborhood for blocks away.

"It had all the earmarks of the traditional left-wing parades banned by the police for several years. There were the anti-fascist slogans and songs, the onlookers several rows deep on the sidewalk, the applause from the apartment house windows all along the way. But the most important thing about it was the left-wing unity found again after 11 years.

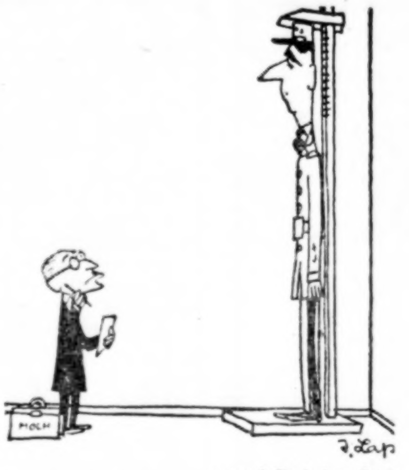
"Socialist, radical and other left-wing deputies taking part in the parade—Mendes-France and Depreux and Mitterand—came away deeply impressed. 'Popular Front,' shouted the paraders. 'There goes the Popular Front government,' said the onlookers. But the Right was too far engaged and was determined to win."

COERCION: The bearer of the Cross of Lorraine failed to obtain the kind of Assembly approval he had hoped for, as he failed to enthuse the people. De Gaulle had looked forward to overwhelming Assembly endorsement of his leadership, with full support of the 97 Socialist deputies. Only 42 Socialists voted for him. The 141 CP deputies voted against him.

Nor did the Assembly vote justify de Gaulle's assertion that he was assuming power by legal means. The Assembly, in fact, had several times rejected de Gaulle's offer of uncontrolled leadership. On May 28, it gave what amounted to a 408-165 vote of confidence (a larger majority than de Gaule received) to Premier Pflimlin when he asked for support for amending the constitution to strengthen the executive's power. Pflimlin, however, apparently by prearrangement with de Gaulle supporters, resigned immediately afterward.

On June 1, only the extreme right-wing and the center parties showed any enthusiasm for de Gaulle. The rest were coerced either by the threat of a military coup spearheaded by paratroopers from Algeria landing in Paris, or by President Rene Coty's threat of resignation, or, as in the case of many Radicals and Socialists, by total aversion for the only alternative—a Popular Front.

CONSPIRACY: Information gradually leaking out indicated that a plot to overthrow the Fourth Republic has been hatching for some time. Behind the plot were Frenchmen with economic interests in North Africa and the French military forces in Algeria—especially the elite paratroopers—smarting from a series of defeats in Indochina, Morocco, Tunisia and Suez, and the continuing war in Algeria.



Canard Enchaine, Paris
"French democracy is taking special measures."

According to the London **Tribune** (5/30), headquarters of the conspiracy against the Republic was located at 9 Rue Louis-le-Grand, near the fashionable Place de l'Opera in Paris. The building carried a nameplate bearing the initials USRAF, which stood for the Union for the Salvation and Rebirth of French Algeria.

Involved in the USRAF were such important figures as Jacques Soustelle, former Premier George Bidault and former Defense Minister Andre Morice. Their colleagues at the Algeria end were led by the powerful Viscount Alain de Serigny, millionaire owner of the French settlers' mouthpiece, the **Echo d'Alger.** French plantation owners in Algeria, who dodge all official taxation, paid a monthly levy of about $1 an acre to finance USRAF. From this source alone, de Serigny was said to have spent $5,600,000 "for the work of subversion."

INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS: The plot began to thicken about six months ago, when USRAF began manipulating its members placed high in the secretaries of the Ministries, in army commands, in the police, in the security forces and in French embassies abroad, and started secretly arming many of the 10,000 rank-and-file members drawn from former Vichyite collaborators. At the same time, the conspirators met at the ornate Moorish villa of El Biar, overlooking Algiers.

Secretary of USRAF and big industrialist and former parachutist officer Rene Dumont worked through Poujadist deputies, Gaullist Defense Minister Chaban-Delmas and his right hand man, Leon Delbecque, who is now in Algeria. They persuaded de Serigny, who previously had no use for de Gaulle, to accept the General as the only man capable of obtaining popular support for their cause.

Algeria was chosen for the initial coup because, as Associated Press reported (5/30), "virtually all the army's combat-ready units were in Algeria" and because the plotters felt that "in France, Communist and Socialist followers—as well as several other groups—would oppose de Gaulle as a semi-dictator." In March and April, AP said, inactive officers in France began applying to the defense ministry for service in Algeria. Their requests were granted, and their names later appeared on the list of "Public Safety Committees" throughout Algeria.

When the stage was set, Dumont in Paris burned his records and flew with Soustelle via Switzerland to Algiers. A group of fiery young students, led by ex-paratrooper and Algerian Student Assn. head Pierre Lagaillarde, were selected to organize the May 13 demonstrations in Algiers, which sparked the events leading to de Gaulle's return to power.

THE BACKERS: For the next six months, at least, Premier de Gaulle will rule by decree as the Assembly goes on a "vacation." He has appealed to Tunisia's President Bourguiba and Morocco's King Mohammed V for a negotiated settlement of "difficulties between our countries." He flew to Algeria last week to look over the situation, planned to present the issue of a powerful executive to public referendum on his return. His close associates have assured France's allies that he means to abide by the government's international committments.

It would be reasonable to assume that, having paid the piper, de Gaulle's backers would insist on calling the tune. Among these men are French textile magnate Marcel Boussac, who owns vast North African holdings and the extremist Paris daily **L'Aurore**; de Serigny, who wields enormous influence among the French settlers, and the settlers themselves; French investors in Saharan oil, natural gas, iron ore, manganese, copper and tin, and their British and American partners, such as British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil, Newmont Mining Corp. and Bethlehem Steel.

WASHINGTON AT EASE: The French settlers and investors and their partners would bar any North African solution that might jeopardize their super-profits. Since the armed forces are itching for a victory after so many defeats, a peaceful solution of the Algerian war would seem to be out of the question. (About the feeling of the Algerian Natl. Liberation Front, see Cedric Belfrage, p. 5).

No comments can be made about de Gaulle's domestic policy and its possible repercussions until he makes it known clearly. The Socialist party, however, seems to have split down the middle, and its general secy. Guy Mollet would seem to have disgraced himself beyond redemption by his clandestine intrigue with de Gaulle. The Communist party was apparently paying the price of not taking sharp action earlier, especially on behalf of Algerian liberation.

Washington did not seem uneasy over de Gaulle's return to power. NATO, it felt, was quite safe. The White House warmly welcomed President Eisenhower's wartime friend de Gaulle only two hours after he became Premier and administration officials said off the record that they would be glad to see him in Washington soon.

REMEMBER
Guardian Weekend
Chaits
June 27, 28, 29

Golden Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

The message pointed out that volunteers for such a voyage "must be willing to undergo serious risk of injury and must hold to the belief that love or, as Gandhi said, satyagraha, is a force which can overcome violence."

As the announcement of the new Golden Rule effort was made, some 700 "peace walkers" picketed the White House at noon on June 1 during the Memorial Day week-end. A few had walked all the way from Wilmington, Del., and others from Winchester, Pa. Each party picked up strength as they walked so that the Wilmington marchers numbered chose to 250 and the Winchester group about 50 as they entered the capital. Others had come by train or bus, some from as far away as Chicago.

OTHER ACTIONS: Elsewhere people followed their own way in demonstrating widespread concern over the continued atomic testing. In New York Ammon Hennacy of the **Catholic Worker** was in the midst of another fast "to awaken the consciences of those who are part of the war machine, those who are half-hearted pacifists and those Christians who see no contradiction in following both Christ and Caesar."

He said he was not seeking to embarrass the AEC but only fasting as "a penance for our sinfulness in bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki and for our continued testing of hydrogen and atomic weapons." He asked: "Is it practical for a so-called Christian nation to live on a hatred of the Communists in order to have the excuse for a military machine?" Hennacy began fasting on May 28 and will continue until July 6. He takes only water.

In Honolulu, four students at the University of Hawaii—three Marshall Islanders and one Samoan—joined the law suit originated by Nobel Prize scientist Linus Pauling to force the U.S., Britain, the Soviet Union and France to outlaw atomic testing.

At San Francisco State College 62 out of 480 faculty members signed a protest against testing published as a ful-page ad in the student newspaper. Some 1,000 students and faculty members at the school had signed petitions calling for a "halt in this march toward annihilation."

Seemingly undeterred by the demonstrations, Operation Hardtack at Eniwetok continued. In the San Francisco Bay area scientists checked samples of rainwater following the Hardtack explosions. They found the rain samples 38.7 times more radioactive than the "safe" standards for drinking water.

THREE DOWN, THREE TO GO

Professors ousted from Negro colleges

IN SOUTH CAROLINA, as in all the Deep South, partisans of integration are an embattled minority. Speech and action for equality may not be proscribed by the 24 laws and four resolutions enacted by the Palmetto State legislature to strengthen segregation; nevertheless they are considered next to treason against the state.

In this atmosphere two institutions have long served as havens for dissenters from the government's official dogma and practice of white supremacy: the Negro church and the private Negro college.

On May 7 Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. won the first round in a prolonged battle to bring the two major church-supported Negro colleges under state control. The board of trustees of Benedict College in Columbia, the state capital, voted to dismiss three faculty members, Dr. Lewis Smith, Dr. J. Spencer Kennard and Mrs. Marion Davis. At Allen University, across the street from Benedict, three others—Drs. Edwin Hoffman, John G. Rideout and Forest O. Wiggins—awaited final action of their board and the forecast was that the result would be the same.

'DISLOYALTY': These actions climaxed a year of wrangling which began when the Governor accused the six professors of "disloyalty" and called for a legislative investigation. Last September state accreditation was denied Allen U. and the threat was dangled over the head of Benedict. More than 85% of the graduates of these schools are education majors and loss of accreditation meant they could not secure teaching jobs in South Carolina public schools.

First reaction to the state's interference in the administration of private colleges was defiant. In January President Frank Veal said: "I will not allow any outside influence to dictate administrative policies of Allen University." He cleared the teachers of the charge of "subversion" and accused the state of blackmail. Dr. J. A. Bacoats, Benedict president, was equally indignant at the start. In fact, Timmerman's barrage included the charge that Bacoats, himself, had been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee for attendance at a meeting in 1942.

The Governor's attack on Benedict came exactly one week after four students from the college appeared on the lily-white U. of South Carolina campus seeking entrance exam blanks. A week before that 11 Allen students had sought the same blanks from USC.

THE BANKER: Though the presidents of both colleges are Negroes and the faculties mixed, the board of trustees of Benedict is headed by one of the state's most powerful foes of integration, B. M. Edwards, former president of the S. C. National Bank.

When the board balked at dismissal, Edwards is reported to have gone to the phone and told Timmerman: "Governor, I gave you my word and it is my bond. I promised you that these teachers would go or I would go. I stand on that promise." Soon after, the board knuckled.

Later Dr. Bacoats told a meeting of the alumni that the trustees "had not been able to find anything wrong" with the three professors "but in the light of present hysteria, the board thought it was the best thing to do." The three professors at Benedict and two at Allen are white; Dr. Wiggins is a Negro.

Negroes are 43% of South Carolina's population. "In light of the hysteria" the state has not only kept them out of every public school attended by whites, but out of the state university which Negroes founded during the Reconstruction period. It has now denied them the right to run as they see fit the private colleges they have laboriously built up to provide an inadequate substitute for the education the state should provide.

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THE GALLERY

"THANK THE LORD FOR THE COMMUNISTS," once commented a successful East Coast madam as quoted in a series on the "Vice Squad" in the New York **Post.** The madam had noticed the intrusion of the FBI into "local arrangements for coexistence between virtue and vice" in the late 1930's, an enterprise which kept the G-men busy until it discovered that the "red-menace" offered an even richer field for publicity. "They were a Godsend They kept those wiretappers off the necks of the racket people as long as humanly possible. When I saw this Communist thing was running dry, honey, I knew it was time to retire." . . . A minor storm broke loose recently in the suburban community of Syosset, L. I., when elementary students came home singing a song called "Moscow." They learned it along with patriotic songs from the U.S., France, and Britain. The Board of Education has subsequently banned the song because of the protests of some of the parents. . . . Two of Russia's top cartoonists, Ivan Semeonov and Vitali Goriaev, are in this country to attend a convention of the Assn. of American Editorial Cartoonists in Indianapolis, May 29-31. The cartoonists hope to sketch American life while they are here.

THE STORY OF A COMMUNITY DISINTEGRATION through prejudice and hatred is the theme of Rod Serling's new "Playhouse 90" drama, "A Town Has Turned to Dust," which will be shown over CBS-TV Thursday, June 19, 9:30 p.m. (EDT). Rod Steiger will star in the story of a sheriff in a Southwestern town in the 1880's who allows a mob to lynch a Mexican youth accused of robbery and assault. . . . An interracial play, "A Good Place to Raise a Boy," is now under production by New Directions Productions. It is scheduled to open off-Broadway on June 10. . . . Young writers are warned by the Federal Trade Commission to steer clear of Vantage Press, Inc. The FTC claims that while Vantage offers to cooperate with authors in publishing manuscripts, in actuality the company has "the author paying all the costs and the publisher reaping all the profits."

POET EVE MERRIAM, inspired by the announcement by a government official of a plan to combine atom bomb shelters with wine cellars (see Gallery 5/26/58), offers the following poem:

Crouched down here against the fear,
We drink and ask "Was it a good year?"
The best, my dear love:
From our last on earth above . . .

. . . Dead radicals, like Eugene Debs, find many strange friends in later years but certainly the strangest of all is the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. A California business news feature service ties in Debs with a report on stock ownership of the P.G.&E. The inspired copy writer comments: "What Debs talked for and hoped to achieve was pretty much what capitalistic self-interest and free enterprise have so steadily developed since his day . . . Looking back on those joint ownership statistics today, he could well be imagined saying: 'No matter what you term the system, that was what I really wanted for everybody all the time'!"

BAN THE SACK DRESS, is the advice of Dr. Millard C. Faught, a management consultant, to New Jersey bankers. "As a matter of security, I would urge all bankers to ban the sack dress for female bank employes. A half-day's deposit could be carried off in one of those maternity bags and the larger sizes might even conceal a wheelbarrow." . . .A filling station in a suburb of Indianapolis has put up a sign: "Help fight the Depression. Buy a Yacht." . . . In an editorial statement the Southern Michigan prison newspaper, **Spectator,** has this to say about recession: "Without a criminal element there would be no need for police officers to protect you. If there were no need for police officers, thousands of men would be out of work. Banks, locks, burglar alarms, vaults, guards, insurance companies all would be unnecessary. Aren't you glad there are a few honest thieves around to keep you working?" . . . It seems that the problem facing our lawmakers is not scarcity but plenty. Rear Adm. George W. Calver, attending physician to Congress, says the lawmakers are being fed to death. He states that a combination of rounds of luncheons and dinners plus the stress of lawmaking adds up to a high rate of congressional heart attacks and circulatory diseases.

THE STATE OF WASHINGTON IS MORE 'SECURE' with the announcement by a former U.S. Attorney that Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker of Walla Walla has been cleared of a charge that she "was soft toward people who are soft toward communism." . . . For many years the Republican ballot in North Carolina's primary election was printed on paper of varying degrees of red. This year it will be printed on green paper; Republican leaders felt the red color suggested communism to many people. . . . Armed Forces Day was celebrated in Wilmington, Del., with the explosion of two simulated atomic bombs. The spectacle is claimed to be entirely safe and children were invited. . . . Only 17 states in the country require no loyalty oaths from teachers, according to a survey made by the American Federation of Teachers. . . . Don't ever ask a State Dept. intelligence agent the name of the capital of Paraguay. An order, issued in 1953, since rewritten, tells employes to steer completely clear of questions from reporters no matter how "innocuous" they may seem—they may bear on policy matters. Suppose, the order said, a newsman asked the name of the capital of Paraguay. The agent should answer: "I am not the appropriate person to answer your question. Let me refer you to the press office on Ext. 5301."

ACCORDION PLEATS LED TO MURDER in Washington, D.C. A pants presser shot a co-worker because he was "taking all the easy press work, leaving all the accordion-pleated and frilly work for me to do," he told police. . . . The depression has hit patriotism in Chicago. A plant there has decided to fly the American flag only on holidays instead of every day in order somehow to save money. . . . A sign on a drug store in San Francisco reads: "30% off on prescriptions to the unemployed."

—Tim Wohlforth

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GUATEMALAN SKIRTS, new, lovely patterns. Beautifully hand-woven designs in multicolor or white on Black, Blue, Red, Navy, Brown cotton. Waist sizes 24-32. Used to cost $14.95 up.—GBS price, **$10.**

NEW! CHILDREN'S SIZES, multicolor patterns on Red, Navy or Medium Blue backgrounds. Sizes 3-4-5-6, **$6.** Sizes 8-10-12, **$7.**

HANDWOVEN MADRAS SKIRTS FROM INDIA. Soft, multicolor vertical stripes. Choose among predominant Brown, Red, Blue or Green tones. Waist sizes 24-32; 34 in some darker combinations. — New unbelievable price, **$5.**

AT BONWIT'S we shopped India Print skirts this spring at $11.95. Ours are just as stunning and as well designed. Multicolor patterns on cream or black backgrounds. Waist sizes 24-32. The price, hold your breath—only **$4.50!**

HAND-MADE HUNGARIAN PEASANT BLOUSES, multicolor and black embroidery on lovely Swiss voile. No two designs alike. Sizes 34-40. A Best Buy for summer, **$5.**
CHILDREN'S SIZES, 6-8-10-12 (multicolors only, no black-on-white), **$4.**

For Your Table

FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, luncheon cloths of natural unbleached linen on cotton warp. Blue or green patterns designed for the Swedish market (but we got them.) Will outwear pure linen. Sizes 52x52 in. with four napkins, **$4.** 52x68 in. with six napkins, **$5.**

PURE IRISH LINEN luncheon cloths, homespun weave in solid colors; Blue, Maize, Turquoise, Peach; 52x52 in. with 4 napkins, **$5.** 52x70 in. with six napkins, **$6.**

JAPANESE LINEN cloths, handkerchief-linen weave in solid colors: Blue, Yellow, Gray and Turquoise. 52x52 in. with four extra large napkins, **$5.** 52x70, six napkins, **$6.**

Budget Gifts

LOVELY PURE SILK SHEER CHIFFON ITALIAN SCARF. As light as gossamer, in multicolor florals, paisleys or Italian market scenes. 27 in. squares. At our price you can afford a drawerful. Exquisite for hostess gifts. Single scarves **75c.** Three for **$2.**

FROM POLAND: charming, colorful, slim, 6-in. hand-turned costume figurines They come apart to make containers for bobby-pins, needles, snack-picks, etc., or simply stand them in pairs to delight the eye. Pair, **$1.**

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the SPECTATOR

A callous for the scholar

I STOOD BY AND WATCHED them expertly folding their quilts into the smallest possible dimensions—my tall, thin, 16-year-old Wei-han and his even taller and much huskier classmate. The 500 boys of the Tientsin No. 41 Boy's Middle School were on their way to one of the collective farms, not far from Tientsin, for a week's stay.

The policy of sending senior middle-school and university students to the country for a week or a few days at a time is one of the moves towards the goal of eventually wiping out the line of division between mental and physical labor, and between city and country. The boys will be a far cry from the old Chinese scholar with his delicate hands and his contempt for the laboring man.

For the older intellectuals this process sometimes has painful moments no matter how clearly they may see the need for it; but for the young ones it seems to be altogether a joyous undertaking, full of excitement.

WHEN WEI-HAN CAME HOME after a week of the hardest work he'd ever done and the hardest living he'd ever experienced, he was tired, aching and dirty, but proud. The first thing he did was to go look at himself in the mirror and ask me if his shoulders hadn't broadened. He showed off his new muscles and paraded his blistered and calloused hands and the skinned places on his shoulders as hard-won battle scars. Over the next few days I managed to get a fairly coherent story of the whole visit.

The farm was an average-sized one for this locality—about 2,500 acres with 549 families distributed in four villages. There were 37 former landlord families, 30 former grain dealers (agricultural capitalists), 14 rich peasant families and 78 middle peasant families. The other 434 families were former peasants, tenant farmers and hired laborers.

Wei-han, a member of a "fact-finding group," stayed in the headquarters of one village. They lived on the government staff level—the very simplest living of all. Their food was mainly cabbage, corn bread and "hai-fan" (rice porridge), and they slept seven to a kang—a brick bed that can be heated. Rolled each in his quilt they lay like seven cocoons without room to turn.

SIX O'CLOCK WAS GETTING-UP time. After washing up, the boys folded their quilts neatly on the kang, swept the room and courtyard and filled the huge water jars from a small nearby stream. Then, like the farmers, they went out to the fields without breakfast.

During their stay they filled in about an acre of waste land with river mud, carrying it as Chinese farmers have carried earth for thousands of years, in baskets slung on poles balanced on their shoulders.

After two hours' work everybody came back to the village for breakfast, then out to the fields again for two more hours work. At twelve the boys had a light lunch—the farmers eat only twice a day, breakfast and supper. Afternoons were spent in work and partly in conferences.

THE FARM IS MANAGED by a chairman, four deputy chairmen (one of whom must be a woman), and a managing committee of 17, all elected by the collective. Before liberation many of this farm's poor peasants and hired laborers had no homes. They slept on straw and hay in the fields, and during the winter many came into Tientsin to beg. Now, everyone has eough to eat and decent clothes, and every family has a house.

The peasants told the boys that their visit made the whole country seem more like a family.

—Grace Liu

Sing 'right' out

A NEW SHOW, opposed to California's "right to work" bill and called "Sing 'Right' Out," has its debut on Friday and Saturday, June 13 and 14, at Warehousemen's Hall, 5625 South Figueroa St., Los Angeles, at 8:30 p.m.

Elena Paz, spokesman for the performers, said that future bookings can be arranged for any interested union, church or fraternal group by calling MIchigan 2923.

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